

to do would be to monopolize the time, especially to the exclusion of any man from whom he differs; he is too magnanimous for that.

me. Mr. Phillips has undertaken to impeach his ability to judge of the condition of our country at this time, and two years ago, with discrimination and accuracy. I will venture to say, that Wendell Phi-

ed him. When Burnside stood on the rope, and
succeed, we changed him. When McClellan
own from the rope, we thanked God and took
(great applause). When Meade stood on the
lips himself does not understand the Anti-Slavery
cause any better, nor the state of public sentiment in
our country, for the last thirty years, more intelligently
and minutely, than George Thompson of England.

and balanced pretty well, he changed him. [Applause.] His judgment, therefore, is not to be impeached in this matter. He has never shown himself at fault; he has always kept pace with us, had his hand on the national pulse and national heart.

Blondin, on a hair! Don't change me! I am stooping down, with my left hand rope, to save with my right a clumsy rebel of a slave from striking the ball where he belongs. I marked all the elements of public sentiment in relation to slavery in our country.

"Don't think I shall go over! Oh, no! I am ed-balanced exactly even!" But the question whether he is well balanced, with his eye fixed on the sailor, is another matter. You know how the sailor walks a rope.

now the maxim. When you are among the people, high up—a hundred feet—what does the maxim tell you? Never look down! While you are high up, your eye upward, you are safe!" The Abolitionists began [Applause.] What converted them? The people all ready, in '61 and '62, to grapple with slavery for its instant extermination by the government, and also to put the ballot into the hand of

ing is of every man under the law." He is
down at Kentucky, and I tremble for him.
I fall, sure as fate, for he is consulting his
down at Baltimore not justice overboard.

the very reason I doubt him. I praised him as he seemed to carry on the war for the sake, for democracy's sake, for justice, to subvert the rebel. He is carrying on the war now to

himself, to conciliate the disloyal white man
use and hisse-].
not at all unsurprised at those hisses. Ten years
seen a Republican used to stand on this plat-
the beginning—"marching on." It went on in 1861,
in 1862, in 1863, and is going on in 1864, and will con-
tinue to go on, God leading and blessing it, to final
victory.

My friend ingeniously dwells upon and makes the most of a single incidental fact, that when Fremont's proclamation was put forth, it was generally and warmly approved—even the New York *Herald* at

To-day, Mr. Lincoln is a popular, half-way old power, patronage, the press, availability; holds that the same tier applauds him and e; but our test is not up there.

They are not Abolitionists; I doubt if they applaud [applause, and cries of "Good"] Lincoln. Who are they, I should like to know. They are in the main, the same as we are. They are not Abolitionists; I doubt if they applaud [applause, and cries of "Good"] Lincoln. Who are they, I should like to know. They are in the main, the same as we are.

The difficulty I find is to know how to answer my friend—he is so inconsistent, as it seems to me, in his treatment of Mr. Lincoln. Now the President is an unqualifiedly honest man [loud applause]. Ladies

... says that the President is carrying on this select himself, it is the worst denunciation he can put upon him [great applause and throwing hats in the extreme seats].

CHURCHES—Your applause, Mr. May, comes from a same quarter that hisses me, the outskirts audience—the chance spectator; not from the house where our Convention sits. Many

abolitionist. But I hope you and your friends in trusting Mr. Lincoln. No man will more the non-fulfillment of my prophecy than I

Mr. Phillips says that I claimed for Mr. Lincoln

that he had exceeded public sentiment on the subject of slavery. So I did; so I believe; and I have very good authority for thinking so—the authority of my eloquent friend himself! Applause and laughter.

that race to which the labor of my life has
voted? All I want is success. All I seek is
to mean to get it.
again, look to your President. I ask Gov-

As my speech is to be largely made up of quotations from the various speeches of Mr. Phillips, I will now ask the attention of the audience to them. There is one from his speech delivered in this Temple, Jan-

"I have not a word even of doubt for the incoming President of Illinois. I believe that, like an honorable man, he means to keep, and has told his friends to say that he means to keep in office the promises that were made for

is, that it would be a great calamity to him the canvas; and while Abraham Lincoln lives—and, in spite of the rage of the men south of Mason and Dixon's line, *he will live to be buried in the gratitude of the North, twenty or forty years hence—* while no lives and dictates law to this country from the White House at Wash-

HILLIPS—I know it. They don't let the people see the facts; they don't let the people know opinions. A week ago yesterday I sat in your city, and this platform was crowded with the Republicans of Massachusetts: the men who

tyranny, have held the best offices of the Republic; the men on whose lips thousands have hung for the last quarter of a century; the men, cited, their opinion is law in the politics of the day.

"I have always believed in the sincerity of Abraham Lincoln. You have heard me express my confidence in it every time I have spoken from this desk. I only doubted sometimes whether he were really the head of the government."

ment. To-day, he is at any rate Commander-in-Chief. *The delay in the action of the government has doubtless been a necessity, but policy also.* Traitors within and without made it feasible to move till it had tried the machine of government just given it. *But delay was wise, as it made*

use seats to these chairs," and said to the man you will elect Governors within three years, or him"; and the reply was, "We can't." ent to others—"Speak in defence of the Administration," as we have seen.

government was wanted with its best friends almost suspected its courage or its integrity; but the caucous shot had opened the only door out of this honor. There were but two. One was Compromise, the other was Battle. The integrity of the North closed the first; the generous forbearance of nineteen States closed the other. The South

us until the business is over." What do you
we did? Took a recess! [Laughter.]
to adjourn and remain in our seats; and these

men remained on the platform, dumb! They record go. They had not one word to answer. They are themselves to be candidates in their own right. This week, for delegates to Baltimore, all the means to defend the constitutional rights of the government. * * * Abraham Lincoln knows nothing, it is a right to know nothing, but the Constitution of the United States. The South is all wrong, and the Administration is all right."

have no way to walk that could not in these times jeopard their chances—and so kept silent. They dare not risk the breaking of their party. It may be good policy and excusable in politics.

But you and I have risen breaking the
indeed for twenty years have sought to break
the service of liberty. Why should I shrink
the chance of breaking a corrupt party and
corruption? I will not shrink, I have

men do not believe in your President; and senseless clamor is what frightens them from great things). If Abraham Lincoln rules this Administration, a honest President stands hesitating, distrust the strength of the popular feeling behind him. * * * Abraham Lincoln, Simon P. Chase, Montgomery Blair, have not the heart nor the wish to thrust back into the hell of Virginia slavery or a single contradictory article in Fortunate Mexico. They never will do it. * * * Mr. no-

another four years, and it is ruled to any dis- member, it will not be the fault of the Cop- dards that he was elected; it will be the fault of andred leaders of the Republican party, who, in

wn hearts, look upon his renomination as a calamity, and avow it to their intimate friends, not dare say it to the public [applause]. At this point in Mr. Phillips's speech [it being

past nine o'clock]. Mr. Garrison rose and said: "Mr. President, I do not think that our friend Phillips wishes to monopolize the hours of this evening, especially when, for every word that he says, I must be obliged to say a word in answer."

him, twenty have been spoken at those meetings of condemnation."

Mr. Phillips advanced to the desk, upon which a great roar arose, some of the audience calling vehemently Mr. Phillips, and others as vehemently for Mr. Phillips, while applause and hisses on every side

used the din. The disturbance continued for time, when, finally, Mr. Phillips stepped to the front and said—"Ladies and gentlemen, listen to a single moment. I was entirely unaware that I have tried to see so much. In a nation that *moans so just as she do*, it gives us good hope that those are yet living in *midst* life, within these walls, who shall see the whole continent, so far at least as it acknowledges the stars and stripes, clear and free from the fetter of a slave [applause].

"I come back to you to-night, as I went away six weeks ago, persuaded that slavery on this continent has begun the chapter which records its death. I have no doubt of it. You may see it in the dispositions of the people."

to the expression of their opinions—perfectly
thoroughly considered, and as well entitled
to influence your judgment, as my own—perhaps
so; for I hope they are right, and that I am
so.

Speech of Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

from the stand. I rose respectfully to remind of the lateness of the hour; for if I should occupy our time as long as he has, and my friend, Mr. Sampson, should follow, and speak as long as some of us, it would bring us past midnight; and

[CONCLUDED ON FOURTH PAGE]

Speech of Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

[CONCLUDES FROM FIRST PAGE.]

Sir, it is very easy to thrust at different members of the Cabinet—to excite unfounded suspicions, and to make indefinite charges. The air is full of them; but how little evidence is adduced, after all, to prove Mr. Seward to have done anything very culpable! As to Montgomery Blair, it is true he went to Concord, New Hampshire, a year ago, and there made a foolish and reprehensible speech, placing himself in a

...dy, nineteen out of the twenty-two States left to have by their Legislatures or State Conventions, unanimously renominated him for the Presidency (see *ante* note to *applaud*). As to Gen. Fremont, whose convention is to come off at Cleveland in a few days—how is he backed up!—by what sort of political influence? If he is going to run Mr. Lincoln off the track, he ought to have some political strength to back. Otherwise I am saying nothing in disparage-

from the radical principles which they once
Only yesterday morning, on my way to this
I rushed across the street to greet two ex-
friends with whom I have had the honor to
and cooperate in years long past. One of
said to me, "I fear you are becoming conserva-
My prayer morning and evening is, that I may
my radicalism green and fresh, and not be
old-fashioned years to the infirmity of

people will know who are for Mr. Lincoln against him, and who it is that are for the black man if the President is in the way [renewed applause.] In fact, let the people have a list of the names of those who think Mr. Lincoln stands in opposition to the masses, but are afraid to say what they think of the cause and crisis of "Good Friday." The word which before I sit down I think

...I had not a very high opinion of
...a great deal of indefinite accusa-
...and a very little that you could put
...to condemn. Yet all the vials of
...been poured out upon him, as
...vial of tricksters, and an enemy
...edom. But has there been a par-
...adduced to show that he is thus

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The President has appointed me to do the

asserting from the radical principles which upheld. Only yesterday morning, on my way building, I rushed across the street to greet my friends with whom I have had the privilege of traveling and coöperate in years long past. They said to me, "I fear you are becoming conservative. My prayer morning and evening is, to preserve my radicalism green and fresh, and to keep it with a lightning rod to the infirm."

to once
y to this
two es-
One of
serva-
I may
not be
of men
tell, and the people will know who are for Mr. Lincoln, and who are against him, and who it is that would do more for the black man if the President did not stand in the way [renewed applause]. At the meantime, let the people have a list of the names of those who think Mr. Lincoln stands in opposition to radical measures, but are afraid to say what they think [applause and cries of "Good!"]

There is one word which before I sit down

Seward, that, while I had not a very high opinion of him, still there was a great deal of indefinite accusation against him, and a very little that you could put your finger upon to condemn. Yet all the visals of denunciation have been poured out upon him, as though he were the vilest of tricksters, and an enemy of the cause of freedom. But has there been a particle of evidence adduced to show that he is thus

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